

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY USOAS:RBMOON:JD

APPROVED BY ARA - MR. ROGERS

USOAS:REWHITE

L - MR. FELDMAN (DRAFT)

S/S: FVORTIZ

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 016547 TOSEC 010143

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), PFOR, OAS

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - REFORM OF THE OAS

(S/S NO. 7601406 )

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ROGERS

### 1. THE PROBLEM

HOW TO MAKE THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES MORE  
RESPONSIVE TO OUR INTERESTS.

### 2. DISCUSSION

WE HAVE GIVEN YOU A NUMBER OF MEMORANDA IN RECENT  
MONTHS EXPLAINING OUR PROBLEMS WITH DIRECTION OAS CHARTER  
REFORM EXERCISE HAS TAKEN AND OUR BELIEF THAT ENERGETIC  
EFFORTS ON OUR PART MIGHT, AT LEAST, AMELIORATE SOME OF  
THE MORE OBJECTIONABLE FEATURES OF THE NEW CHARTER AND,  
AT BEST, BRING ABOUT SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE  
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ORGANIZATION. CONSULTATIONS WITH A NUMBER OF OAS FOREIGN  
MINISTERS CARRIED OUT BY BILL MAILLIARD AND BOB WHITE IN  
EARLY DECEMBER ENCOURAGED US TO BELIEVE THE LATINS MIGHT  
BE RECEPTIVE TO FAR-REACHING PROPOSALS AIMED AT SIMPLIFYING

AND RATIONALIZING THE ORGANIZATION.

AS A RESULT, THE LATEST IN OUR SERIES OF MEMORANDA TO YOU SET FORTH FOR YOUR APPROVAL A SET OF CONCRETE IDEAS FOR OAS REFORM AFFECTING THE STRUCTURE, MEMBERSHIP, PROGRAMS AND FINANCING OF THE ORGANIZATION. IT ALSO PRESCRIBED A STRATEGY FOR PROMOTING THESE IDEAS BY TRYING THEM FIRST ON A COUPLE OF THE MORE SYMPATHETIC LA FONMINS IN HOPES THEY MIGHT ADOPT THEM -- OR SOMETHING SIMILAR -- AS THEIR OWN.

THIS MEMORANDUM WAS BOUNCED FROM YOUR AIRPLANE LAST NIGHT BECAUSE OF OUR FAILURE TO ATTACH AN IMPLEMENTING CABLE FOR YOUR APPROVAL. IT WAS OUR MISTAKE; WE HAD THOUGHT NOT TO ATTACH THE CABLE ON THE THEORY THE MEMO ALONE WAS ENOUGH TO DIGEST IN ONE GULP. NO MATTER.

BUT BECAUSE OF THE URGENCY OF THIS MATTER -- THE OAS PERMANENT COUNCIL IS NOW SEIZED WITH THE OBJECTIONABLE CHARTER REFORM TEXT -- WE HAVE DECIDED TO PURSUE YOU WITH THIS MESSAGE WHICH SETS OUT BELOW THE TEXT OF A CABLE ASKING OUR AMBASSADORS IN BOGOTA AND SAN JOSE TO SEEK THE REACTIONS OF LIEVANO AND FACIO TO OUR PROPOSALS. WE BELIEVE THIS CABLE SETS FORTH IN ABBREVIATED FORM THE ESSENTIAL ARGUMENTS OF THE MEMORANDUM YOU HAVE NOT SEEN. OUR HOPE IS THAT YOU WILL AUTHORIZE OUR SENDING THIS CABLE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WILL RESULT ONLY IN APPROACHES TO TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS AT THIS TIME. UPON REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF OUR MEMORANDUM WHEN YOU RETURN WE CAN REFINE OR REVISE SPECIFICS BEFORE ENLARGING THE CIRCLE OF CONSULTATIONS WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS (WE HAD ENVISAGED DISCUSSING OUR PROPOSALS WITH SILVEIRA AND BLANCO AS WELL AFTER WE HAD GOTTEN REACTIONS FROM LIEVANO AND FACIO).

TEXT OF CABLE

DRAFT CABLE  
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ACTION: BOGOTA, SAN JOSE  
SUBJECT: OAS REFORM: OUR PROPOSALS

INFO: ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS AND CANADA  
EXCEPT ABOVE

1. AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH CHIEFS OF MISSION HERE AND VISITS TO KEY LA CAPITALS BY AMBASSADOR MAILLIARD AND BOB WHITE, WE HAVE REFINED OUR THINKING ON CHARTER REFORM AND HAVE DEVELOPED A NUMBER OF CONCRETE REFORM PROPOSALS -- SOME RELATED TO THE CHARTER, SOME ADDRESSED TO IMPROVING THE PROGRAMS AND PROCEDURES OF THE ORGANIZATION. OUR THINKING AT THIS JUNCTURE IS THAT WE SHOULD REVEAL

THESE IDEAS TO YOUR TWO SYMPATHETIC FOREIGN MINISTERS,

IN HOPES OF ELICITING THEIR VIEWS AND COMMENTS AND, OPTIMALLY, THEIR AGREEMENT TO TAKE THE LEAD IN SUPPORTING THE KINDS OF CHANGES WE HAVE IN MIND WITH OTHERS. WE ARE NOT SO SANGUINE AS TO EXPECT WILD ACCLAIM FOR ALL OF OUR NOTIONS; IN FACT, WE WOULD BE PLEASED AT THIS STAGE IF WE GENERATED COUNTER-PROPOSALS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO THE SAME OBJECTIVES WITHOUT THE FASHIONED-IN-WASHINGTON ONUS.

2. BASIS FOR STRUCTURAL AND PROCEDURAL CHANGES WE ARE PROPOSING IS OUR CONCEPTION OF OBJECTIVES OAS REFORM SHOULD ACHIEVE:

A. MAINTAIN OAS ROLE AS TRIGGER FOR RIO TREATY AND AS FORUM FOR OCCASIONAL HIGH LEVEL CONSULTATIONS ON IMPORTANT POLITICAL ISSUES, E.G., HUMAN RIGHTS, AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE PROBLEMS.

B. REDUCE THOSE FEATURES OF THE OAS WHICH ENCOURAGE CONFRONTATIONAL POLITICS, ESPECIALLY THE PERMANENT COUNCIL.

C. DIMINISH THE QTE WE-THEY UNQTE ATMOSPHERICS OF THE OAS BY BROADENING MEMBERSHIP TO INCLUDE ALL STATES OF THE HEMISPHERE (EXCEPT THE MINIS), INCLUDING CANADA.

D. STREAMLINE OAS DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS; INSIST CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT THEY BE CONFINED TO AREAS OF PROVEN OAS COMPETENCE.

E. REFURBISH THE IMAGE AND REPUTATION OF OAS BY ENCOURAGING GREATER FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION OF OTHER MEMBERS, AND A LEANER, MORE EFFECTIVE SECRETARIAT.

3. STRUCTURE OF THE OAS. WE SUGGEST REPLACING THREE COUNCIL/GENERAL ASSEMBLY FORMAT WITH A SINGLE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO MEET ONCE A YEAR. EMERGENCY MEETINGS COULD BE CONVENED ANY TIME AT THE REQUEST OF A MEMBER. UNDER AEGIS THE ASSEMBLY, A NUMBER OF STANDING COMMITTEES (ADMIN/BUDGET, TRADE/DEVELOPMENT, LABOR ETC.) WOULD MEET ON PERIODIC BASIS -- PERHAPS QUARTERLY -- TO PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR PERTINENT OAS ACTIVITIES. COMMITTEES COULD RECOMMEND TO ASSEMBLY CONVOCAION OF SPECIAL MINISTERIAL LEVEL CONFERENCES INVOLVING APPROPRIATE MEMBER COUNTRY OFFICIALS AS THE NEED AROSE. COMMITTEES WOULD BE STAFFED, NOT BY PERMANENT DIPLOMATIC DELEGATIONS, BUT BY TECHNICAL EXPERTS FROM MEMBER COUNTRIES. TO ASSURE RAPID RESPONSIVENESS OF ORGANIZATION TO RIO TREATY EMERGENCIES, A STANDING PEACEKEEPING COMMITTEE COULD BE EMPOWERED TO ACT AS PROVISIONAL MEETING OF CONSULTATION UNTIL FOREIGN

MINISTERS CAN BE BROUGHT TOGETHER. COMMITTEE MIGHT BE COMPOSED OF MEMBERS' AMBASSADORS ACCREDITED TO THE COUNTRY

DESIGNATED THE SITE OF THE COMMITTEE (WE WOULD PREFER WASHINGTON). IN OUR OPINION THIS STRUCTURE WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE EFFICIENT OAS BY BRINGING MAXIMUM TECHNICAL EXPERTISE TO BEAR WHILE REDUCING POLITICAL DISCORD. IT WOULD ALSO PROMOTE INCREASED ATTENTION TO OAS AFFAIRS AMONG REAL DECISION MAKERS IN MEMBER STATES' CAPITALS.

4. DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. WE BELIEVE OAS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WOULD BENEFIT FROM STRUCTURAL CHANGES ABOVE BECAUSE TECHNICIANS AND DEVELOPMENT DECISION MAKERS WOULD BE MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN CONSULTATIONS ON DEVELOPMENT ISSUES. THESE CHANGES ALSO WOULD DIMINISH TENDENCY OF PRESENT SYSTEM TO POLITICIZE ALL ISSUES. IN ADDITION WE HOPE NEW STRUCTURE WOULD RESULT IN CORRESPONDING SECRETARIAT REORGANIZATION TO BRING ALL PROGRAMS UNDER A SINGLE MANAGERIAL ROOF ENDING PRESENT DUPLICATION OF EFFORT AND WASTE. WE CONFIDENTIAL

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HOPE OTHER MEMBERS WILL AGREE ALSO THAT GREATER EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED ON LIMITING OAS PROGRAMS TO THOSE OTHER AGENCIES CANNOT PROVIDE AND ON MAKING PRESENT DEVELOPMENT PLANNING MECHANISMS MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE MEMBERS.

5. OAS BUREAUCRACY: THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE COUNCIL SYSTEM AND THE RATIONALIZATION OF OAS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS SHOULD RESULT IN REDUCTION OF OAS PERSONNEL AND OTHER SECRETARIAT ECONOMIES. IN ADDITION, WE THINK A NUMBER OF MARGINAL, NON-PROGRAMMATIC SECRETARIAT SERVICES AND ACTIVITIES COULD BE IDENTIFIED AND ELIMINATED.

6. MEMBERSHIP. WE SUGGEST ELIMINATION OF ARTICLE 8 RESTRICTION AND REDUCING REQUIREMENT FOR APPROVAL OF NEW MEMBERS TO SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY. AT THE SAME TIME WE WOULD ESTABLISH AN ASSOCIATE MEMBER STATUS FOR NEW MEMBERS UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO PAY A NEW MINIMUM ASSESSED CONTRIBUTION FOR VOTING MEMBERS SET AT 1/2 OF 1 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL BUDGET. OUR GOAL HERE IS TO APPROACH UNIVERSALITY OF MEMBERSHIP, BUT AT SAME TIME TO KEEP THE ORGANIZATION FROM BEING OVERWHELMED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF VOTING MINI-STATES. THE HOPE IS THAT THE NEW CONTRIBUTION SCALE WOULD INDUCE THE POTENTIAL MINIS (ST. KITTS, ANGUILLA, ETC.) TO OPT FOR ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP, GIVING THEM THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT VOTE IN ALL DEVELOPMENT CONSULTATIONS WITH PAYMENT OF NOMINAL ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION OR, PERHAPS NONE AT ALL. WE FAVOR DISCUSSIONS WITH CANADA TO INFORM THE GOC FULLY OF OUR OAS REFORM INTENTIONS IN HOPES IT MIGHT CONSIDER JOINING A RENOVATED ORGANIZATION AS A FULLY PARTICIPATING MEMBER.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT ALTERING CONTRIBUTION SCALE AND DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF STATES IS TOUCHY BUSINESS IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, BUT THE NUMBER OF

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POTENTIAL CARIBBEAN ISLAND STATES COULD EVENTUALLY OVERWHELM THE CORE ELEMENTS OF THE OAS UNLESS DISTINCTIONS

ARE DRAWN. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP WOULD DRAW THESE STATES INTO DEVELOPMENT/TRADE PROCESSES OF OAS WITHOUT DILUTING PEACEKEEPING/POLITICAL CONSULTATION FUNCTION UNDULY. WE HOPE MINIMUM CONTRIBUTION IDEA CONFIDENTIAL

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WOULD NOT ONLY REQUIRE MINIS TO OPT FOR ASSOCIATE STATUS, BUT WOULD ALSO INCREASE STAKE OF FULL MEMBERS IN EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS AND MORE EFFICIENT SECRETARIAT AND REDUCE APPEARANCE OF U.S. DOMINATION OF THE ORGANIZATION RESULTING FROM PRESENT FINANCING SCHEDULE (U.S. PAYS 67 PERCENT). OUR GENERAL OBJECTIVE IN THIS APPROACH TO MEMBERSHIP IS BELIEF THAT RESULTING BROADENED MEMBERSHIP, ESPECIALLY THE ADDITION OF CANADA, WOULD TEND TO BRING MORE CONFLICTING INTERESTS INTO THE ORGANIZATION AND THUS, PERHAPS, REDUCE THE TENDENCY TO GANG UP ON THE U.S.

7. CONCLUSION. THESE PROPOSALS ARE ADVANCED FOR DISCUSSION IN HOPES FONMINS WILL REALIZE WE DO NOT INSIST THAT ANY OR ALL OF THEM IS ESSENTIAL TO SURVIVAL OR QUANTUM IMPROVEMENT IN PERFORMANCE OF OAS. RATHER, OUR PURPOSE IS TO DEMONSTRATE SERIOUS INTEREST WE TAKE IN UPGRADING IMAGE AND ROLE OF THE OAS, WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN JOINT EFFORT AND APPRECIATION FOR FONMINS' OFFERS TO TAKE PERSONAL ROLE IN REFORM.

8. FOR SAN JOSE AND BOGOTA. OUR STRATEGY IS TO TRY THESE IDEAS FIRST ON FACIO AND LIEVANO BECAUSE THEY WERE MOST RECEPTIVE TO MAILLIARD/WHITE EXPLANATIONS OF INITIATIVE IN DECEMBER. SUBSEQUENT STEPS WILL DEPEND LARGELY ON RECEPTION THEY GIVE PROPOSALS AND POSSIBILITY, INDEED OUR HOPE, THEY WILL OFFER REFINEMENTS OR COUNTER PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN. THEREFORE, IF YOU AGREE, BILL ROGERS WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF HIS VISIT TO BOGOTA IN JANUARY TO JOIN THE AMBASSADOR IN A CALL ON THE FONMIN TO DISCUSS THESE IDEAS AND WILL EXTEND HIS TRIP TO INCLUDE A STOP IN SAN JOSE FOR THE SAME PURPOSE.

9. FOR ALL OTHER ADDRESSEES. WE ARE FORWARDING THIS CABLE TO YOU FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND REQUEST THAT YOU NOT REPEAT NOT DISCUSS ITS CONTENTS WITH HOST COUNTRY OFFICIALS. WE SHALL BE CONSIDERING WHICH IF ANY ADDITIONAL FONMINS TO BROACH OUR THOUGHTS WITH AFTER WE HAVE REACTIONS FROM INITIAL EFFORT IN SAN JOSE AND BOGOTA. END TEXT OF CABLE.

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RECOMMENDATION:

THAT YOU AUTHORIZE TRANSMISSION OF THIS CABLE.

APPROVE            DISAPPROVE

DRAFTED: USOAS:RBMOON

CONCURRENCES: ARA - MR. ROGERS; USOAS - MR. WHITE;

L - MR. FELDMAN.

ROBINSON

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